MAN!

"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought--Let It Crack--WENDELL PHILLIPS

Vol. 7 — No. 11 | Administration and Editorial Address: P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Calif. | Los Angeles, Calif., November, 1939 | 1 (529) | Single Copy 5 Cents

Vincent Ferrero

ANOTHER REFUGEE

From a press release sent out by the Ferrero Defense Committee we learn that Vincent Ferrero has been forced to leave this country where he had resided legally for 35 years.

"Denied a stay of execution—states the Committee—and threatened with arrest and confiscation of bond by the Department of Labor, Ferrero has left the United States for an unknown destination. Attorneys in the case have started proceedings for the release of the bond.

"Ferrero is now a refugee in another land: a refugee from this country which now seems preoccupied about refugees in other lands. His anti-fascist activities interested the Fascist Italian Government in his deportation. Should Ferrero fall victim of Fascist persecution the responsibility will rest directly upon the Department of Labor.

"The Ferrero Defense Committee's work of keeping Vincent Ferrero here in America thus comes to an end."

The work of the Defense Committee comes to an end, but the burning shame of a self-styled liberal government launching its might against a single individual, in order to exile him for his political beliefs, will last forever.

We quote from the magazine section of the Sunday San Francisco Chronicle: "Presidential pet has been the Inter-Governmental Committee for Political Refugees which he started last year with Secretary of State Cordell Hull in an attempt to assist political and racial exiles. . .

"Opening the two-day meeting of the committee's executive group, Mr. Roosevelt expounded at some length on the responsibility of his humanitarian project . . .

"To meet the challenge of these homeless refugees, it is not enough to indulge in horrified humanitarianism, empty resolutions, golden rhetoric and pious words. We must face it actively if the democratic principle based on respect and human dignity is to survive' . . . "

The above statement shows Mr. Roosevelt as a master of rhetoric and as a true representative of that magnificent fraud called democracy. Vincent Ferrero has lived all his adult life in this country; he had a home; he knew things, people and places which, through a closeness of 35 years, had become dear to his heart. Yet, the very government of which Mr. Roosevelt is the leading responsible head has chosen to banish Ferrero from this country—his by choice and by right of residence. Ferrero, persecuted for his political beliefs, has become a hounded refugee without Mr. Roosevelt and his fellow members of the Committee for Political Refugees being the least bothered by the pitiful fate of their "democratic principle based on respect and human dignity."

Our readers are familiar with the story of the Ferrero case. We need not repeat it in detail. Suffice it to say that Ferrero was arrested in 1934 in Oakland, California, at the beginning of the government's attempt to suppress this journal. Charged with having rented office space to MAN! and of having at one time published the Italian periodical "L'Emancipazione", Ferrero was ordered deported as an alien anarchist. All legal proceedings to prevent his deportation were of no avail. Hundreds of thousands of protests from individuals and organizations failed to change the Department's determination to deport Ferrero. The fact that Ferrero could not return to Fascist Italy without jeopardizing his life and liberty, and that he could get no passport to go to some other country left the Department cold. Finally, to our everlasting shame, Ferrero had to depart stealthily for a destination which must remain unknown.

At a time when the Department of Labor was demanding Ferrero's surrender for deportation to Italy, the leading magazine "The Nation" published a strong editorial protest. We recall that, prompted by that editorial, Representative Celler introduced a Bill which, if approved, would have permitted Ferrero to remain in the United States as a political refugee.* However, the Bill died silently in the House Committee and was never re-introduced. Mr. Roosevelt and his fellow politicians are playing the old game of deceiving the people with an affected concern for the political victims of other lands while those of this country rot away in prison and are hounded out of the territory of the great republic.

*As a pre-requisite to the hearing of the above mentioned Bill, Ferrero was called to testify before the House Committee on Immigration. At that time he introduced a statement from which we like to quote the following:

"Briefly, I believe that every normal man is capable of looking after himself and is capable of adjusting himself to the environment in which he lives and is not in need of any fixed laws or rules limiting his mode of living. I believe that the rights of the individual should not be subordinate to any form of government. It is my belief that every normal individual should have absolute freedom to live his life the way he desires, and that the various laws now in existence tending to restrict his mode of living or shape his way of thinking are not only unnecessary but are detrimental to the development of man. If such belief brings me within the class of 'anarchist', then I must be one . . . .

"In conclusion, I wish to state that I entered this country legally. I have lived here most of my life. My record is that of a peaceful and honest man. Regardless of the deportation proceedings instituted against me, and notwithstanding the fact that should I actually be forced into the hands of the Italian authorities, I would suffer cruel punishment and possible death, I nevertheless hold to my beliefs and maintain that every human being is entitled to believe in a principle that he considers sound."

» COURTS AND JUSTICE «

In the August issue of MAN! we brought a story from the Los Angeles "Open Forum" dealing with the unlawful search trial that had taken place in a federal court of that city. Since the decision has already been rendered by the court it will be of interest to all those who have followed the now more than 20-year-old persecution of the undersigned to become fully acquainted with the background that brought about such a suit being instituted.

After my release on bond in October, 1937, when I was arrested for the fourth time on a 1919 deportation order, Mr. A. L. Wirin and Dr. Clinton J, Taft, respectively attorney and director of the American Civil Liberties Union, endeavored to persuade me to file suit against the local immigration officials who seized and jailed me on Oct. 6, 1937, without a warrant of arrest and who, afterwards ransacked my room without a search warrant. Such a suit, they argued, would once and for all put a stop to the lawlessness in which the upholders of the law indulge too often.

All their arguments left me unconvinced. Never in my life have I gone to any court to seek justice or redress. And I did not intend to do so in this instance. The suggestion was then made that I assign my right to sue to Miss Margaret Malley, the then acting secretary of the Los Angeles Civil Liberties Union office. After discussing the matter with my comrades, it was decided to follow this course with the understanding that, if called as a witness, I state my reasons for refusing to sue in open court. (I made such a statement when called to testify as to what happened to me on Oct. 6, 1937. However, we made it clear to Mr. Wirin and Dr. Taft that it was our belief that the suit would end in a complete whitewashing of the lawless immigration agents.

The case was assigned to Federal Judge William P. James. After the presentation of oral and written arguments, it took Judge James almost a year to rule that there were sufficient grounds for the suit to be placed on his calendar. But at the same time he ordered the cancelation of that part of the suit which charged false arrest. This charge was non-assignable, and I was the only one who could file suit on it.

When Judge James went on vacation, he reassigned the case to Federal Judge David Ling—another supposedly "liberal judge," like Judge Yankwich. The case came to trial on July 28, 1939, and lasted only one day although there were five accused officers on trial and three witnesses to be heard. Judge Ling clearly showed his partiality toward . . . . the other branch of government by allowing department agents to refuse answering pertinent questions which he ruled "irrelevant." Of course, the "defendants" were elated.

However, it was easy to see to what lengths the Departments' agents had gone in order to get a judicial whitewash. Of course, it was difficult to prove that I had been forcibly seized and handcuffed and that the agents grabbed the keys to my house and ignored my demands that I be shown a search warrant and a warrant for my arrest, if any. The witnesses had become suspiciously wavering in their statements. My landlady stated that she was not at home at the time, but she admitted finding the door to my room open and also that she had been visited by immigration agents. A neighbor admitted that after she saw the agents leading me away she heard footsteps in my room.

Judge Ling preferred written to oral arguments. In fact, he ruled that arguments be written. The final outcome was a clean bill of health for the boastful violators of every principle of law and decency. Judge Ling, in fact, dismissed the suit orally with merely a few words.

Mr. Wirin and Dr. Taft must have been so upset by this procedure that, while a story of the one day trial was printed in their association's "Open Forum", they have, so far, not reported the outcome of the suit. Perhaps, both Mr. Wirin and Dr. Taft will now realize how futile it is to expect the courts to punish the lawlessness of its allies, the enforcers of the law.

Our position that the courts are one of the many agencies employed to uphold and perpetuate the exploiting classes has been vindicated once more. The "law and order" framing upon which present society is supposed to be based is nothing more than a fraud and a travesty of every concept implied in the word justice.

Marcus GRAHAM

The Chicago Martyrs

Every time an Anarchist, agitator is killed or imprisoned, every time an Anarchist paper sucumbs to persecution, the enemy cries: "Anarchy is dead!" What blindness, what folly. The idea of Anarchy is inherent in the soul of man. To destroy this idea would mean to destroy every aspiration for a higher life, every hope for freedom; it would mean to destroy life itself. Anarchy was from the beginning, is now, and will be forever. Our self-imposed duty is to make mankind conscious of it. In this work we find ourselves in company with the best and the greatest spirits of any time. Our Chicago martyrs knew for what they died; they went to death in a serene and joyful state of mind: Our pleasure is to follow in their footsteps—not whinning for our dear friends, but proud to be their companions in the struggle for emancipation.

—Dyer D. LUM

(From "The Revolutionary Almanac" edited by Hippolyte Havel.)

Facts and Figures

THE MUNITION TRUST AT WORK

On July 31, 1914, some few days before the World war broke out, the central organ of the German social democrats, the "Vorwarts" published an article in which the armament international, but before all the German war industry was violently criticized. Refering to the famous speech of Karl Liebknecht in the German diet on May 11th, 1914, in which he with documents conclusively showed, that the German war industry had provided the so-called enemy countries with a great amount of arms, the "Vorwarts" ended this article with the following characteristic words:

"German and Austrian workers will be murdered by German and Austrian arms, by German and Austrian bullets, by German and Austrian gunpowder. The German and Austrian capitalists have reaped the golden profit and the peoples of Germany and Austria will be torn to pieces with the greatest technical precision by the "hereditary" enemy, whose money is ringing agreably in the pockets of German capitalists. War enthusiasm among German workers! Go ahead, march against the Russian, the Serbian enemy, with patriotic ecstacy, your reward is sure: grenades from Krupp and bullets from German and Austrian factories... Hurrah!"

This was written in the "Vorwarts" on July 31, 1914. Are the circumstances different now? No! The war industry is still providing both "friends" and "enemies" with arms. It does not know any national frontiers. Native country, race and religion means nothing to it. It is selling arms to all who can pay. Armament race and war means fine conjunctures and big profits. The heaps of gold are growing on the same scale as the heaps of corpses on the blood-drenched battle-fields.

It has been said that the present world crisis is caused by the contrasts between democracy and fascism. If we were to judge from the solemn political declarations of the different states, it seems to be so. But if one looks at the economical relations between the countries, the falsehood of the political declarations will become obvious. These economic relations show that it is principally capitalism of the democratic states that provides the dictatorships with the raw materials and the war materials necessary for them to carry on their ruthless war policy.

Sometime ago we learned from official French sources that the democratic states control more than 82.10 per cent of the iron production of the world, 81.80 per cent of the coal supply, 82.33 per cent of the oil supply, 91.70 per cent of the rubber supply, and 97.70 per cent of the cotton supply. All such raw materials are absolutely necessary components for the manufacturing of war materials.

The three states which have beaten the war drum most violently: Germany, Italy and Japan, have within their frontiers only a very limited part of these goods necessary for the war. But the capitalists of the democratic states are willing and ready to provide them with all what they want.

Let us for instance take something so necessary for war as oil! Germany can produce a very limited part of her oil from coal. That is all. Italy and Japan have no oil of their own. Everything is imported from United States, Mexico, Rumania and the "communist" Soviet Russia. The commercial policy of those states enables the fascist states to carry on their war policy and supports it.

According to the official commercial statistics of 1938 Japan imported not less than 56 per cent of her war material from United States. And at the same time president Roosevelt made flaming speeches on the necessity of a resolute action against the war policy of the fascist states!

In the same year Great Britain covered 21 percent of the Japanese import of war materials.

Thus not less than 77 per cent of Japan's supply of war materials was provided by United States and Great Britain.

In order to obtain sufficient foreign currency to purchase all these war materials from the democratic countries, Japan is dumping large quantities of cheap Japanese goods in these countries. Through this import of Japanese goods for sale the democratic countries also support the ruthless war policy of the Japanese.

The French export of iron ore to Germany has increased. In 1930 the French ore exported to Germany amounted to 2.5 millions of tons. In 1936 the annual ore export from France to Germany had increased to 6 millions of tons, in 1937 to 7 millions and in 1938 again 6 millions. In the period from January 1st of this year to April 1st, France exported 3,360,000 tons, of which quantity 1,112,000 tons were exported to Germany. From this ore the Germans can produce war material to use against the people of France.

Germany has a great need of ore for her war industry. According to the English paper "The Nation", Germany in 1937 produced 9,600,000 tons of iron ore, but had to import not less than 20,000,000 tons. Of these 20,600,000 tons the democratic Sweden supplied not less than 9,400,000 tons. At the same time a terrible armament race is going on in Sweden, "for the defence of the democracy". A democracy which will perhaps be crushed by the nazist Germany by means of arms manufactured from the ore supplied by the democratic Sweden...

Furthermore these arms and raw material supplies for war purposes are not only characteristic of the democratic countries.

The capitalism of the fascist states is quite as patriotic as that of the democratic states when money can be made.

The English paper "Daily Express" recently published a correspondence from Hongkong, in which the following significant information was given:

"The firm Maurika at Augsburg has appealed a judgement in a trial against the Chinese government. The firm had sold a party consisting of 10,000 gas masks, recently delivered to the Chinese government. These gas masks were said not to be of the promised quality.

"By examination of the witness it appeared that only one order to the Chinese government consisted of 80,000 grenades of 75 millimeters caliber at a price of 42,000 pounds. The goods had arrived in China directly from Hamburg.

"Furthermore it appeared that large supplies of German war material had been stored up in Hongkong, in expecting the Chinese government to buy them. In Hongkong it is believed that most of the war material that comes to China is of German origin".

From Chinese circles the "Daily Express" further learns that most of the arms supplied from abroad comes from Germany. Furthermore there are the rather extensive supplies from the former Czceh Skoda works, which the Germans do not want to liquidate.

Germany has concluded a treaty with Japan, which does not, however, prevent the German capitalists to supply the Chinese with arms, with which to murder the Japanese friends of Germany!

The commercial treaties of Soviet Russia with Italy and Germany are also contributions to the illustrations of the things mentioned above.

War and militarism is at last only a capitalist business. We must not cooperate with the states in their work of preparation of war.

Before all we must work intensively in order to crush the capitalist system, which is the propelling force of the sanguinary battles between the peoples.

John ANDERSSON

[I. W. M. A. Press Service]

* * *

MOTHERS OF AMERICA

Mothers of America, forming a legion will not save your sons from war. Such a move was doomed to failure by the Siamese twins—God and Government—long ago. Everything that a corrupt civilization can do, has been done to mold your sons' minds, to want war. Down thru the ages an alliance (sometimes secret, often open) has existed between politician and preacher to teach your sons that they MUST believe, that they MUST NOT question the rules laid down by the twin authorities. Accustomed from childhood to being ruled, and never allowed a moment of mental freedom, their brains are dominated by the brains of others, until now they are afraid to say openly, what they may think secretly. Never having had the slightest voice in fashioning the laws, they obey them with dog-like submissiveness and unquestioning obedience. They think as their fathers thought—and their fathers went to war. Your sons, and your mother's sons have seen forms of royalty change, but they have never wanted their kings to die. Their belief is, "that because slave-owners' whips cracked in the beginning they must crack till the end, for that was our doom, you know, from the day they chained us in their fields, to the strike of a week ago."

Your sons wanted an ideal, a God, something heroic as a pattern for their lives. The twins gave them a god, who was so meek, and humble and slavish that he let himself be stabbed to death by a cheap hired tug. A God whose greatest deed was, that "he fed the hungry" and that, in a land said to be flowing with milk and honey, for even then, people were stupid enough to be hungry in the midst of plenty. A God who talked and talked, and said nothing that had not been better said many times before, and sayings which were no doubt stolen from wiser men of the past. A God who was a saviour and could not save, and openly bragged of having the bliss of a sheep, and allowed himself to be whipped like a cur. What an ideal! How heroic! What a pattern!

The few of your sons who have escaped from the holy trickery of the whining preachers, who promise to free them with the love of Jesus—and the collection plate; have fallen an easy dupe to the loving kindness of the crawling politicians, who promise to free them with laws—and old age pensions. Mislead by preachers whose wisdom is silly, and statesmen whose remedies are poison, it is no wonder your sons are ready for war.

Legions of Mothers of America, you are too late to save your sons from war, for even now you do not realize that altho the names changed down thru the years, essentials remained the same, that change is not necessarily progress, nor numbers advance. You do not realize that the twins—God and Government—still rule America, where the politicians rage, the preachers whine, your sons' mothers imagine vain things, and your sons are—preparing for war.

Jack O'DELL

More Facts On Arming Germany

On June 15 the Liberal peer Lord Davis told the House of Lords that exports of scrap iron and steel from Britain to Germany rose from 4,5000 tons in July, 1938, to 17,000 tons in August, 21,000 tons in September, and 23,000 tons in December. French exports of pig iron to Germany he stated, rose from 350 tons in August 1938 to 19,000 tons in September and 75,000 tons in November, falling to 67,000 tons in March—when Germany "merged" Bohemia and Moravia with the Reich and took their metals.

According to the official German statistics the Reich imported in 1938 1,148,027 metric tons of scrap iron and steel. America participated with 462,782 metric tons, while Belgium furnished 244,842, France 82,560 and England 117,818 tons.

* * *

Espionage

Both Britain and the United States are rocked with sensational spy stories, the secret agents uncovered being mostly Nazis. No attention is being paid to the work of the British and American spies. Britain for example, employs 271 spies today for every 100 she had working in her behalf in 1929. This is the calculation made by Mr. Cecil H. Wilson, M. P., who asked in Parliament recently how much had been spent on the Secret Service for each of the last ten years. Figures supplied by the Treasury showed the following amounts expended under this heading:

Year	Pounds	Year	Pounds
1929	166,031	1934	178,799
1930	165,299	1935	178,592
1931	168,068	1936	349,000
1932	177,681	1937	350,000
1933	178,609	1938	450,000

The Negro And The War

Colored people of the world over are playing a very important part in the European war. For the stake of the colored people in the now perennial European imbroglio is their labor and buying power. And insofar as the desire and scheming of the white nations are concerned, the democratic, fascist and communist governments are alike as peas in a pod.

There is, in fact, no difference at all between British imperialism in South Africa, India and the West Indies and Italian aggrandizement in Ethiopia. Germans have robbed and are trying to rob again the Africans the same as the English and Belgians have always done. Russian oil sold to Italy during the Italo-Ethiopian war did as much to cause the rape of Ethiopia as bombs dropped on Ethiopian troops and civilians by Mussolini's sons. Black men slaving in coal mines and steel mills in Birmingham and Pittsburgh to make machinery and gadgets to be sold by Americans in Africa, China and India are indeed playing a vital part in the present day drive by the imperialist nations for power and wealth—gained at the expense of black labor in Africa as well as the United States.

Democracy in Europe and in the United States has never meant democracy for colored people anywhere in the world. For colored people have always been accepted only as drawers of water and hewers of wood. Proving that insofar as democracy is concerned there is no humanity in it when colored folk are involved.

Therefore, no colored person anywhere in the world can afford to stand aside and take what is happening in Europe passively. They must realize that democracy as now practised in London, Paris and Washington, Capetown, Calcutta and Hongkong means little to them—it means something only to white men.

Freedom, liberty, opportunities to work and share in the profits of their labor will come to colored people, however, only thru their own efforts to fight against all kinds of imperialism, be it British, American, French, German, Italian or Russian. Moreover, the fight for these things, which are generally accepted as the foundations of democracy, must be the same the world over. For whatever affects a colored man in Africa also affects one in New York.

—New York "Amsterdam News".

AMERICAN COLLEGE — AS STRONGHOLD OF FASCISM

The American College as the Stronghold of Fascism is meant primarily to indicate not an active foreign element boring into the institutions with cleverly written leaflets or undermining the administration by the organization of powerful none-too-secret societies. Rather it is meant to indicate a matter of almost opposite nature. What could never be accomplished by expressed endeavor to bring about such ends has been more thoroughly and completely and unbeknown to the public in general brought about by implied reference.

It is not that in any college or university the administration has said: This is Fascism; follow ye it! But rather that they have said: This is **Americanism**; it will save you from Communism and the Anarchists.

Nor again, has it been so much what has been said, but what has been implied in every speech; and instituted in every rule and proceedure of the Universities. (*)

In a recent article, **The Causal and Contributory Factors of Dictatorship**, by J. O. Hertzler which appeared in SOCIOLOGY and SOCIAL RESEARCH it was pointed out that "unquestioning 'patriotic' obedience" is a very real foundation upon which the power-party might build a dictatorship.

Yet, unquestioning patriotic obedience to one's country and particularly to the laws, rules and customs of the university is instilled into the mind and being of every student and such obedience is required under penalty of expulsion and forfeiture of all college credit should any man be so bold as to question the supreme authority of the administration.

Of some interest in this connection are the reactions of some freshmen girls to this very problem as reported in SOCIAL FORCES, Volume XVII, Number 4.

"I am limited to my fraternity in everything. Everything I do is in the name of my fraternity. I am not known as an individual, but as a member of my fraternity. I am dictated to in my every action in the name of the fraternity."

"... Social strata on the campus is very pronounced."

"Our campus is snobby and undemocratic."

"... I found rules so thick that one can't breath! I have to get permission from my parents to the Dean before I can even visit my parents. I find I have less chance of using my own judgement than before I came to college."

I cite examples of freshmen only because it is only freshmen who talk that way. By the time they are sophomores or juniors they have already settled into the fascist mold of dictation and regimentation or else they have talked too much and have been sent home.

The president of one southern university informed the student body, upon presenting a certain speaker, that he did not know whether the students would like the speaker, and furthermore he did not care whether they liked the speaker but that they would give their devoted attention.

The amazing thing, of course, is that so few students even make the slightest protest toward such tactics, but rather they lend themselves will-lessly to be fashioned into puppets which shall be manipulated by the university or the state whatever their policies might be.

But there are a few who resist. And for them Neitzsche has these words:

"Open still remaineth the earth for great souls. Empty are still many sites for lone ones and twain ones, around which floateth the odour of tranquil seas.

"Open still remaineth a free life for great souls.

"Verily, he who possesseth little is so much the less possessed: blessed be moderate poverty!

"There, were the state ceaseth—there only commenceth the man who is not superfluous: there commenceth the song of the necessary ones, the single and irreplaceable melody.

"There, where the state ceaseth—pray look thither, my brethren! Do ye not see it, the rainbow and the bridges of the Superman?

"Thus spake Zarathustra."

J. C. CREWS

(*) As an example, let's take the situation at Baylor University. The president one week ago laid down the ruling that students, whether on or off the campus, were not to discuss the chapel programmes of the institution of the policies laid down by the president, while either on or off the campus.

Tuesday morning he was greeted with a Mimeographed student paper which had been conceived as a farce, and which after two or three articles comparing the president with Il Duce and Herr Hitler, had an open letter to the president pleading that he listen to reason, and allow free discussion.

He presented the matter in chapel next morning, in a very onesided manner, then announced that the editors of the paper were suspended indefinitely from the institution. The suspended plead for a chance to speak. At first he conscented to this, but then, denied them this right. As the student quoted the president's own words concerning the right to speak, however, the president allowed him the floor.

When the student started presenting the matter in its true light however, the president ordered him off the platform, and ruled that onyone who consorted with the suspended students would likewise be suspended.

J. C.

Only those young people can be accepted as healthy who refuse to be reconciled with the old order and foolishly or wisely struggle against it—such is the will of nature and it is the foundation of progress.

—ANTON CHEKHOV

If Youth Could Speak

But the most interesting item in yesterday's mail was a letter from a young man. The voice of youth has not been heard amid all the confusion and the disheartening din of these last two weeks. We believe this would be a more pleasant planet if young men everywhere could think and speak as clearly as the writer of this letter:

"DEAR MR. C.: On October 15 I will be 21 years old, and fit as a fiddle to have my head bashed in overseas—and it occurs to me that there are certain characters (whom for purposes of discussion we may identify as the Allies) who will go out of their way to help me cash in on this fitness.

"So as a potential of the Second World War Generation, I would like to say a word.

"Briefly, I am appalled at my elders' casual double-talk, 'of course, we CAN'T stay out . . . '

"Obviously, I have been the victim of insidious peace propaganda—which is why I am only grotesquely amused at the idea of strangers shooting at one another, presumably to settle an academic controversy on the relative merits of Hitlerism and Democracy.

"After all, I thought Democracy was something like Voltaire, or the Bill of Rights—generous of disagreement.

"Not that I fall for the guff about this war involving ideologies; the European 'balance of power' is the stake—and I'd consider this hemisphere considerably unbalanced if it tried balancing THAT blob of mercury again.

"But, of course, WE signed up last time to protect our interests—and if we join again, it'll again be because our neutral ships have been scuttled, and so forth. Which, there is every reason to conclude, they will be. And so forth.

"But when our interests stick their necks out, MY interest pales.

"I have my own little interests. A sound roof, a square meal, a free birthright and a clear sky; a life which I'll presumably live but once and great expectations which have cost a pretty penny to develop. I'd rather not give them up, so if you don't mind, I'd rather sit this war out.

"This isn't sensational, Mr. C., but it's serious, and I thought you might like to know how I feel, being 20 years old these days.

"Sincerely, K. W."

—Ted COOK in Syndicated Column of Sept. 20, 1939

Two Pacifist Anarchists: Leo Tolstoy and Llyod Garrison

The average American thinks of the anti-slavery movement only, when the name of Garrison is mentioned, and to him Tolstoy is just another Russian writer. Today, with war upon us the names of these two great men are linked together with a special significance to those who desire to go to the bottom of the question of the meaning of war.

Just 101 years ago, Sept. 19, 1938, at a Peace Convention in Boston, Garrison presented resolutions which were passed by that body stating the anarchist position against both the Church and State as follows:

"Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us than are those of the whole human race. Hence we can allow no appeal to patriotism to revenge any national insult or injury... The dogma, that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, and that the powers that be in the United States, in Russia, in Turkey, are in accordance with His will, is not less absurd than impious. It makes the impartial Author of human freedom and equality unequal and tyranical. It cannot be affirmed that the powers that be, in any nation, are actuated by the spirit or guided by the example of Christ, in the treatment of enemies; therefore, they cannot be agreeable to the will of God; and therefore their overthrow, by a spiritual regeneration of their subjects, is inevitable...

"As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, wordly honors, and stations of authority. If WE cannot occupy a seat in the legislature or on the bench, neither can we elect OTHERS to act as our substitutes in any such capacity."

Garrison, when the Civil War was supposedly fought to free the slaves, did not vote for Lincoln or support the war, although his son joined the army. Years later Tolstoy quoted the above statements of Garrison in his "Kingdom of God is Within You", and spoke of his indebtedness to both Thoreau and Garrison in forming his ethical opposition to the Czar and the Orthodox Church.

Tolstoy, in his "My Religion", states:

"Not only Jesus, but all the Hebrew prophets, and John the Baptist, and all the true sages of the world, have denounced the Church and State and culture and civilization of their times as sources of man's perdition."

In order to be free of war Tolstoy in his "Patriotism and Government" written in 1900, shows the futility of relying upon governments, petitions, referendums on war, neutrality, etc. etc. He says:

"To free people from those terrible calamities of armaments and wars, which they suffer now, and which keep growing greater and greater, we do not need congresses, nor conferences, nor treaties and tribunals, but the abolition of that implement of violence which is called government, and from which originate all the greatest calamities of men."

And again in "Cartgago Delenda Est", Tolstoy states:

"This means for the abolition of war consists in this, that the men who do not need war, who consider a participation in war to be a sin, should stop fighting."

We must be realistic, whether as pacifists or as anarchists. We know that the great majority of people are led by teachers, preachers and politicians to act exactly in opposition to their own best interests in time of peace. What must then be their entire demoralization in time of war when the blatant radio arouses the emotions of fear and hate? We may wish that the people will not be led into war, but if our analysis is true we KNOW that they will be led in the future as in the past. If they continue to vote in time of peace for a Harding, a Coolidge, a Roosevelt and expect their small troubles to be solved, how then in time of great stress will they act any more sensible in the great emotional upheaval of war? A politician promises more pensions and less taxes; to "keep us out of war" and at the same time raises taxes and commits us to help the "democracies" against "aggresor" nations. Therefore the statement of Tolstoy in his "Message to a Peace Conference" was not acceptable, for it meant a change of life, not a change of weapons. As our everyday governmental life in time of peace is based upon evil returned for evil in our courts and in our treaties with other like governments, it is only logical to follow Tolstoy when he states:

"If a government has an army it should have as large a one as possible. That is its business. If a government does not do that it is unnecessary."

Therefore the true anti-war position is also the true anarchist possition—let sentimental pacifists remember this when the politicians whom they trust shall have betrayed them. All efforts to achieve peace through governments or mass action of the people is therefore futile. The torch of liberty can only be held aloft by those scattered individuals who know that one on the right side is a majority already, as Thoreau said, without counting the noses of majorities and minorities. Each anarchist is able to think and act for himself without appealing to a convention or to a "party line". The message of Garrison and of Tolstoy and the courageous example of their lives endures for us while decrees and thesis of politicians are forgotten.

Ammon A. HENNACY

Twentieth-Century

The twentieth century
Is the whore of the ages
Into whose degenerate womb
Time drops her bastard years
Sick with lustful wars of
Greed and hate.

Williamn Allen WARD.

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

Free Expression In America

When Mayor Maverick of San Antonio, Texas, had the courage to resist the threats of super patriots and offered protection for the meeting that was to be held in the city auditorium, he did something highly commendable. Despite this fact, the fascist-inspired mob routed the communist meeting before it was well under way. And not satisfied with their success in suppressing the meeting, these fascist minded people have initiated a campaign for the recall of Mayor Maverick. Should this campaign be successful, it will be another instance, and by no means the first, wherein an honest man will be ostracized because he was so naive that he believed the Bill of Rights could be made to function in a democracy.

The American Civil Liberties Union has called upon Attorney General Henry Schweinhaut, head of the Civil Liberties Unit of the Department of Justice, to investigate the forces behind the suppression of freedom of expression and to punish and prosecute those responsible for the mob riot in San Antonio.

There is something deep and important behind this incident. The union of Stalin and Hitler has given the black forces of reaction an excuse for exterminating the radical movement. The American Legion, notorious for being the sinister agent of the exploiters of this country, have taken a lead in this battle of extermination. They will stoop to the lowest of levels in order to suppress any dissenting voice which, under the basic laws of this country, has a right to express and assert itself.

We believe that the communists in San Antonio should have been allowed to hold their meeting—without any mob riot. We believe this in spite of the fact that the communists, when in power, do not allow a dissenting voice to express itself. Russia with its Stalinist persecutions and executions is an example of this.

We cannot see how the cause of freedom of thought and expression could be saved even if the government itself would succeed in punishing those responsible for the San Antonio incident. Mob psychology, upon which communists and fascists alike rely for their acts of repression and suppression, cannot be changed by punishment of the mob. It would be more logical to educate this mob, to encourage it to the widest use of freedom of expression. When the people will have had the real experience of tasting the fruit of freedom in all its varieties, only then can we hope that they will understand the very essence and significance of real freedom. Only then will such incidents as that which occured in San Antonio cease to be.

Political Prisoners Set Free

During the course of the last two months, we have jubilantly learned of the freedom of three of the countless political prisoners whose names and deeds are familiar to most workers in this country.

Matt Schmidt, who served 24 years at San Quentin, was released on parole. Schmidt, it will be remembered, was convicted for the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times Building in 1910 and was sentenced to life imprisonment. The MacNamara brothers were also held in connection with this case. In fact, both brothers pleaded guilty as a result of the persuasion of Lincoln Steffens who had the "promise" of the capitalists that the "golden rule" would be applied to them. One of the brothers, James MacNamara, is still serving a life term.

Ray Becker, who has spent 19 years in jail, was freed by an order of the governor of the state of Washington who had the 25 year sentence commuted to time served. Becker, a member of the IWW, was sentenced together with Brit Smith, John Lamb, O. C. Bland and Eugene Barnett for the killing of Warren O. Grimm, an American Legionaire. The killing occured when a mob of legionaires attacked the IWW hall in Centralia, Washington, after an Armistice parade in 1919. Wesley Everest, one of the IWW members who defended the hall, was shot. Bleeding and dying, he was carried to jail. That same evening a mob attacked the jail. Everest was emasculated and then hanged while his body was being ridden with bullets. No attempt was ever made to prosecute the lynchers. This case of cold blooded and ruthless murder conclusively illustrates the significance and meaning of class justice; this case is certainly one which, to say the least, should always be remembered by the oppressed of "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Ray Becker has always been uncompromising; he has always refused to ask for a pardon. When the General Defense Committee of the IWW urged him to ask for a pardon, he immediately ceased to accept any further aid from that body. In the Aug.-Sept., 1933 issue of MAN!, we printed a letter from Ray Becker in which he made charges against the IWW on this score.

Finally, after 23 years of imprisonment, nine months after his comrade was freed by Governor Olson of California, Warren K. Billings has at last been permitted to leave the shadows of prison life behind him. Billings, who was sentenced with Mooney for the Preparedness Day bombing in San Francisco in 1916, was freed quietly and not spectacularly—minus the radio broadcasts, speeches and celebrations that were part of Mooney's liberation in January this year. Nevertheless, we are safe in saying that all of us who have seen in Billings a man of character and courage, all of us who understand the struggle of which his long persecution was a part cannot help but rejoice, silently yet deeply, over the freedom for which Billings hoped and waited—a freedom that came 23 years too late.

Yet, there is something deplorable, pitiful and tragic in this whole situation. These men, whose imprisonment and torture were a result of the never ending persecution against the workers throughout the country and especially against those workers who have the courage and ability to rebel in some way or other against the tyranny of the rulers, were not set free as a result of the efforts of the oppressed and persecuted class in whose interests they, Mooney, Billings, Becker, Schmidt and so many others, fought. They were liberated through the good graces of the very forces which kept them imprisoned all these years.

All we can say is that a labor movement which cannot bring about the freedom of its victimized members in a manner different from that employed in the liberation of these men has little or nothing of which it can be proud.

Evidently, the oppressed of the land are not aware of the never ending struggle that is being waged every day; they are unmindful of the innumerable victims who are being led into prisons and dungeons. When they become fully aware and conscious of this fact and condition, they will doubtlessly see to it that they employ far different methods in order to free their valiant brothers who fight for them.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Many incidents have occured during these first few weeks of war, incidents which serve to give us a general idea as to how the "democratic" countries which are at war really practice democracy.

The cabinet of South Africa split on the issue of whether or not it should join Great Britain in war. Five of the twelve members were in favor of joining the mother country. The vote in Parliament was 80 for joining and 166 against joining. When Premier Hertzog demanded a general election on the war issue, the British Governor General flatly refused. Hertzog's government was overthrown, and a pro-war cabinet was immediately formed.

In France, the communist party has been outlawed and its organs suppressed. The 67 communist municipalities have been dissolved by a governmental decree. There were 43 communist deputies who were immune from persecution, but the Daladier government overcame this obstacle by dissolving the old Chamber of Deputies. On October 10, Daladier attempted to defend his actions against the communists on the ground that before Hitler and Stalin signed their non-agression pact the communists were the most vociferous people who clamored for war against Hitler. Now that Hitler and Stalin have become dance partners the same communist party is clamoring for peace. All this is very true, and the excuse given by Daladier sounds almost sincere. But we have proofs, suppressed by the daily press, of the relentless persecutions which the Daladier government has meted out to the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movements even before the Munich crisis of 1938. Editors of anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist publications have been jailed repeatedly. We have before us a copy of "Le Libertaire", our French contemporary weekly. It bears the date of July 31, 1939, before France declared war against Germany. The leading front page article is entitled: "Restons Attaches A L'Idee De la Paix" (Let us hold fast to the idea of peace). The title is followed by a complete blank except for the one word: "Censure" (censored). Every other article which made references to war suffered a similar fate. (No more issues of "Le Libertaire" have riched us. "L'endehor", of October carries but one announcement: that as a result of the censorship's decree—is has been suppressed.) Will Mr. Daladier dare to assert that the anarchists in France are guilty of the same treacherous hypocritical acts of which he has accused the communists?

The persecution of the anarchist movement in France proves once again how valueless all so-called "constitutional rights" become the very moment the present system of exploitation, through its governments, involves itself in a war of imperialism, commercial conquests and the retention of political power.

Thoughtful people will do well to meditate over the grave situation in which the world finds itself. And we must be prepared to learn the lesson that may be derived from this tragic mess as we witness the complete disappearance of every vestige of "constitutional" liberty in the so-called democracies already at war. In this country we are faced with a repetition of this since we experienced it once when we were dragged into the last war.

The real test for the inalienable right of freedom of expression is offered in critical times. The fact that it may be enjoyed in non critical times proves nothing except that it is a shameful presumption in order to deceive people into the belief that that kind of freedom was worth having and should be defended.

If the democracies of the world were not the boastful sham they really are, they should show how different they are from the dictatorial countries by seeing that every vestige of freedom is kept up as the "raison d'etre". The failure of the democracies to stand the test of upholding their granted constitutional rights in critical times proves that the democracies are no more worthy of defending and saving than are the autocracies which they are trying to destroy.

Saviors In Disguise

Since freedom of expression is one of the principles upheld by this journal, we have made it a policy to exchange with any publication wishing to do so. The only organs who refuse to exchange with us are those under fascist and communist domination. This fact illustrates most eloquently that both parties pursue the same policies of intolerance and repression—policies wholly suited to dictatorships.

One of our many exchanges is "World Federation", a monthly publication issued by Mr. Mahendra Pratap (Rajah) "Servant of mankind." In the issue of November, 1933, of MAN!, we asserted that Mr. Pratap, judging from his paper, was a "boot-licking servant and the tool of every oppressor and ruler who is ready to make use of him for cold cash."

Mr. Pratap never found it necessary to challenge our sweeping evaluation of him. We have before us the issue of September, 1939, of Mr. Pratap's "World Federation," an issue designated as a "Christ number." In it we read the following statements made by Mr. Pratap:

Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini. This is the greatest living trinity. Their union, as it is reported . . . opens up new avenues of great possibilities . . .Their handshake at this juncture changes the course of history . . . And Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini will go down in history, as forming the trinity which brought about political and social salvation of the peoples of Asia and North Africa!- We hated the China incident. Directly or indirectly it helped many developments in Europe . . . Then the valiant attitude of Italy and Germany encouraged Japan to push forward her plans on the continent of Asia and Africa. Directly or indirectly Japan is infusing a new spirit among many people of Asia and Africa. Those who are under the slavish influence of the British empire or the French colonial system may not be stirred, but the freedom loving people of Asia and Africa are surely aroused by the military success of Japan.

This quotation is so damnable that no further comment can possibly be given. However, we wish to enlighten the reader with a bit of information on the character of Mr. Pratap. He now resides and publishes his paper in Japan. Previously he lived and published his paper in China. In those days he readily accepted the thirty pieces of silver given him by Chinese statesmen and other naive persons. Now he receives his Judas earned money from Japanese statesmen and exploiters.

People of the calibre of Mr. Pratap are truly representative of the present order of things. We shall see their disappearance only when the system itself crumbles and in its place flourishes a system whose very essence spells equality, sincerity, freedom, tolerance and justice.

Mothers

Mothers are fools
Who suffer to bring boys
Into the world to die on the
Battlefield when a blood thirsty
Field marshal barks the command to
March.

William Allen WARD

MAN!

A monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

Subscription Price: $1.00 per year, Six months Fifty Cents.—Sample Copies Free Upon Request

MAN! invites the collaboration of all writers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, poems and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address:

MAN!

P. O. Box 971 Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

The American Bar Association held a convention recently, and we were treated to the spectacle, of lawyers, wasting their time trying to deceive the people, into believing, that they had been, and would continue to protect the Bill of Rights. Indeed! They who done the most to nulify the rights of man, speak of protecting rights. We must laugh at this gesture.

According to Lysander Spooner, in his great legal work entitled "Trial by Jury" government of, by (and somebody added "for") the people, was brought into being, agreed to, and voluntarily supported, by all the people, and safeguards set up, to see that the government limited itself to the continuance of the desires of all of the people. The question confronting them, was, how to keep the government a protector of the rights of the people, and not, a protector of special privilege. Since the laws were to be enacted by representatives, chosen by the people, a way to prevent the agents from enacting laws of their own desires, or desires favoring a special few, must be found. The answer was—Trial by Jury, or trial by the people. To prevent trial by government, rather than trial by the people, it was necessary for the people themselves, to be the judge of their own liberties, unless they were to be allowed to judge what their liberties were to be. All adult people were to be listed for jury duty, and, chosen in such a way that there would be no way of ascertaining who the jurors were to be, prior to selection. This, to prevent the government from packing a jury. Once on a jury, it became the duty of the jury, not only to weight the evidence, but to pass on the legality itself. It was presumed (and rightly so) that twelve men picked by this method would be a fair cross section of all shades of that. That a jury picked in this way, would agree to no conviction, that the people as a whole would not agree to. As it was necessary for the opinion to be unanimous, it followed that no one would be convicted of breaking laws, which the people as a whole did not agree with. Thus the government could not decide, who could or could not become a member of the jury. The government could not question a prospective juror as to his opinion of a law, and bar him because of it. The government could not dictate what laws must be enforced. To let the government do any of these things, would bring about a state of affairs, by which the people would have only such liberties as the government saw fit to grant. Unless the people were to judge the justice of a law, they would be unable to protect their liberties, for there would be no limit to the unjust laws which a government unrestrained, might declare legal. The right to decide what were to be the powers of the government, and what the liberties of the people, must be, either in the hands of the people, or in the hands of the government. The government must not be the judge, since the people could only be free, if they themselves were to judge.

Saying that it was a government of, and by the people, merely because the members of the government were elected by, and sworn to represent, and that any laws they might pass were to be considered as the will of the people, would not make it true. This could only be true, as long as the people retained their right to declare null and void, any and all laws which did not meet with their approval.

So for the protection of the liberty of the people, American Jurisprudence ushered in five separate tests for law. (1) House of Representatives. (2) Senate. (3) President. (4) Supreme Court. (5) Trial by jury. To have freedom from unjust laws, the people must retain the right thru their juries, of veto. If the servants of the people, representatives, senators, presidents and supreme court, were to have the right to veto, and the people were not to have it, then the government would become, not the servant of, but, an absolute dictator to, the people.

Members of the American Bar Association, who have sold our rights to special privilege, you dare to talk of protecting our Bill of Rights! Who, if not the lawyers, persuaded the people to give up their rights to veto? You! Who never miss an opportunity to point out, that in the event the government passes an injust law, we the people can change it, thru our right of free speech and the ballot; we are learning that you pay no attention to our discussions, unless we convince you that our discussions are to be followed by action.

You! Who tell us that we have the right of the ballot, when we are learning that the ballot can only be taken advantage of periodically, and that we must bear with unjust laws, until these periods arrive; we are learning that if we do repeal unjust laws, it is no guarantee, against you and your kind passing new laws equally unjust.

You! Who tell us that if laws passed are unconstitutional, we can change them; when we are learning that you lie, for when you tricked us out of our power to veto, you left it in the hands of the government, to decide what would become law, and what government has ever decided that its own laws were unconstitutional?

You talk of protecting us, when we are learning, that if we have not the right to judge between the government, and those who disobey its laws, the government is absolute, and, we the people, are legally speaking, slaves. We are learning that the government should never be allowed to touch the person, property or civil rights, of any individual against his will, except for the purpose of bringing him before a jury of free people for trial. We, the people, are slowly learning these things, Mr. Member of the American Bar Association, and when enough of us learn the lesson we will not look to the slimy, smelling hands of the legal profession to right our wrongs.

Jack O'DELL

BASIC BELIEFS

Belief is a confession of ignorance.

Being skeptical of everything but facts, I face the unknown future with faith founded on ratiocinations about past facts. The sum total of facts perceived constitutes the known Universe, governed by change, the sequence of which, whether uniform or variable, is natural law operating inexorably without conceivable beginning or end.

The inexpugnable persistence of matter, energy, time, and space, makes it impossible to conceive of their annihilation or creation. No preexisting or present Creator, Devil, Heaven, or Hell are perceivable. The law of change, commonly called evolution, promises no continuity of personal consciousness hereafter. Once born, dissolution is inevitable.

I believe the equivalent of a brotherhood of man ought to exist, but does not; that no fatherhood of God existed or ever will; that happiness here and now, not in the hereafter, is the valid objective of life; that there is no soul, except the mind; that happiness is a state of mind, not a stack of things; that happiness is best obtained by living in conformity with natural laws; that man's intelligence, not blind belief, is his best tool for achieving high and lasting happiness with a minimum possibility of pain; that the law of equal freedom is the best guiding principle in all social and civic relationship; that consciousness of and conformity to the law of equal freedom constitutes the best possible citizenship; that the consequent equitable exchange of services and voluntary self-help called cooperation constitutes correct economic conditions; that marriage under this law becomes a cancelable contract and children an uncancelable, mutual responsibility; and that, finally, since we inherit the earth, we ought to add to and pass along that modicum of intelligence acquired as the most profitable heritage to our progeny, i. e., education in facts, not beliefs.

Cassius V. COOK

WITHOUT COMMENTS

The Attorney General's Federal agents and district attorneys have been raiding the country for crooked judges and politicians and have won wholesale indictments and convictions and sent the culprits to prison. That's why this is amusing . . . One politician said to another: **"I wonder where the Republicans and Democrats will hold their next conventions?"** . . . To which the other glumly answered: **"Very simple. If Attorney General Murphy keeps on that way—the conventions will have to be held in Atlanta!"**

—Walter WINCHELL

Cordell Hull did not shout it from the housetops, but up until the last hour before the neutrality embargo went into effect he was permitting the shipment of arms to Germany, despite the United States treaty with Berlin which sates that "the importation into Germany of arms, ammunition and war materials of every kind shall be strictly prohibited."

European peace talk remained as a retarding influence on the stock market Monday . . . With the ticker tape frequently at a standstill, the turnover for the five hours aproximated 650,000 shares, smallest for a full session since the start of the war boom about six weeks ago . . . In adition to **FEARS that a calling off of the overseas conflict might jolt the domestic business structure,** and consequently markets, continuance of the neutrality battle in Congress was hardly calculated to stimulate sentiment.

—ASSOCIATED PRESS (Oct. 9, 1939)

It was no accident that Bishop Sheil of Chicago had luncheon with the president last Wednesday. The bishop had just flown the Atlantic on a clipper plane, after visiting Rome, where he had an audience with the Pope.

It also was no accident that he had conferred with Roosevelt just before he left the United States for Rome. Immediately after Bishop Sheil left Rome, Osservatore Romano, Vatican City newspaper, published an editorial strongly supporting Roosevelt.

—Drew PEARSON and Robert S. ALLEN (Oct. 2, 1939)

Cambridge, Mass., Sept. 21 (UP).—Civilization is heading for destruction, and the European war is hastening the smashup, Dr. Earnest A. Hooton, anthropologist at Harvard University, predicted today.

"The biologically sound are being slaughtered by bombs and shells, leaving only the deformed, physically unfit and insane at home to continue propagation of a race of imbeciles," he said.

"What we must do is to divert a modicum of that high intelligence and creative ability which are too nearly monopolized by mechanical science to the study of ways and means of repairing and improving the human machine.

We must build the future of humanity, if there is to be any future, not upon mechanical science, which is up to this point the greatest human achievement, but upon man's biology, about which we know virtually nothing."

* * *

Although most people probably don't realize it most American medical schools quietly limit their Jewish students to a relatively small number, with the result that many American Jews go to Scotland each year for their training.

The 360 embryo doctors whose passports are now held up have finished part of their training in various Scotch medical universities, and will have their careers cut short unless Hull relents.

—Drew PEARSON and Robert S. ALLEN

A document described as "astonishing" by the British press has been issued by the Dublin constituencies council of the Labor party.

"The issue in the war," says the statement, "is supremacy of one bloc of great powers over the other. It is again the clash of conflicting imperialisms in which liberty, democracy, and the freedom of threatened small nations are but false catch-cries to lure the workers and the common people into battle for their own destruction . . . .

"We shall resolutely oppose any participation in the war which is causing such misery, suffering and torture to the workers of Europe."

—THE CALL

Another bachelor in the news highligts shows how Britain's "other half" lives. He is Dr. Winnington-Ingram, the 81-year-old Bishop of London, who is now retiring.

The genial, well-fed bishop lives in Fulham palace, a 100-room mansion with 35 acres of gardens in the heart of London.

Ten personal servants take care of his needs around the house, a giant auto rolls him round his big bishopric, through the slums owned by the Church, to the golden-altered temples of the rich, past thousands of homeless citizens.

The salary of this disciple of Christ is $1,000 a week.

—Erland ECHLIN in the CHICAGO TIMES

Three partners, doing business at Charlotte, N. C., were indicted on September 28 for violating the Fair Labor Standards Act. Inspectors from the Wage and Hour Division testified that at least one worker was being paid wages of one (1) cent an hour and that none of the 25 workers received more than 12 cents an hour.

—WORKERS AGE

Columbia Gas & Electric Corp. made $10,244,489 profit for the year of 1938.

A Hollywood gunshop keeper's pistol early this morning spat out a message of death for Lyle H. Daughendau, 30, following an attempted burglary of the store.

The injured man ran off, leaving a trail of blood. When officers arrived, he was discovered just around the corner where he had collapsed on the sidewalk. He was rushed to Hollywood receiving hospital where he gasped out a request to police to summon his wife Edith but refused to answer questions. Daghendau died before his wife arrived. Police said the dead man had no criminal record here.

—Los Angeles DAILY NEWS

The Detroit Edison Company made $8,218,672 profit for the year of 1938.

Moscow, Oct. 10 (UP).—Field Marshal Goering has sent War Commissar Klementi Voroshiloff a specially designed Siesiler-Storch monoplane as a token of German friendship, it was learned today.

The five great powers—Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan and Spain—are undivided in their ideology . . . . Full of life and walking in the sunlight with the creation of social order and justice . . ."—Editorial in the "Popolo di Roma", Italian fascist paper, August 22, 1939.

If an individual citizen of any country would be as dishonest and unscrupulous as the average government, he would be jailed for life!

—Edward LEWIS

Propaganda Minister Goebels, in an article in the "Volkischer Beobatcher", November, 1925, entitled "An open Letter to a Communist": "You and I, we are fighting one another without really being enemies . . . Perhaps the most dire necessity may bring us together." —Nonfrontier News Service.

Bert HILLSIDE

CORRESPONDENCE AND DISCUSSION

As To The Manifesto On Libertarian Socialism

Dear Editor:

In the August, 1939 issue of MAN! we read the letter of Harry Kelly and the reply given by Melchior Seele on the question of Libertarian Socialism. Kelly's letter has prompted us to say a few words on the matter.

We, too, have read and reread the two clearly written expositions offered by comrade Seele on Libertarian Socialism. Nowhere, during the course of our reading, did we find any mention or reference of cowardice on the part of Harry Kelly or of any of the participants of the Mohegan Conference which drew up the Manifesto in question. Seele's statement that he deems the "changing of the name of Anarchism to that of Libertarian-Socialism improper, inadvisable and an act of cowardice" is made in a general sense and cannot be construed as a personal reflection upon Kelly or any other member of the new League.

Seele, in our estimation, presented a clear, correct and concise explanation of the theory and principles behind the word Anarchism. This, we feel, is an invaluable contribution to our movement, a contribution of interest to all students of the anarchist philosophy, whether their reactions be favorable or adverse to the arguments presented.

Harry Kelly refuses to discuss the arguments presented by Seele. He did the same thing a few months ago in answer to comrade Havel who had written unfavorably about the Manifesto. Incidentally, at that time Kelly showed that he can be arrogantly personal. Kelly's persistent evasion of discussion justifies the conclusion that he has nothing to say in defense of his position. If that be the case, it would, indeed, be more sincere and anarchistic to admit it.

Worse still and more serious, however, is Kelly's insinuation on the question of Melchior Seele's name. Since when does an anarchist demand the birth certificate of another as a prerequisite for a discussion? Is this a new mode being introduced by Harry Kelly? Or is this part of the program of the Libertarian Socialists? If it is, we certainly shall opose it vigorously and loudly. It is our understanding that an anarchist never questions the identity of another, or of anyone for that matter, unless it can be proved that the person in question has said or done something detrimental to or unworthy of the movement whose principles he accepts and propagates and of which he is a part. To say the least, the raising of such a point shows a lack of responsibility and a poor understanding of anarchist ethics. However, Kelly does not think the matter to be so serious, and he tries to dispose of it with the valueless and unjustified opinion of "a comrade."

Both Melchior Seele and Harry Kelly might or might not be using the names given to them in their birth certificates. That is of no concern to us. It is their business. We take it for granted and are satisfied that the editor knows the individuals behind those names.

In discussing matters inherent to the movement and in trying to study and interpret anarchist principles and philosophy, we are interested in facts, arguments and explanations. Seele has given us two full pages of them. Kelly has evaded discussion and is trying to substitute it with unwarranted plucks at the family tree of those who do not agree with him.

Comradely yours,

Ray RANDALL
Walter BROOKS

* * *

Youth has been betrayed by corrupt guiders; for generations leaders have despoiled youth's idealism, courage and strength—to further anti-social purposes. And out of the resulting frustration of youth's creative forces cynicism has raised its ghastly, leering visage.

We ought to offer a healthy, enthusiastic suggestion for freedom as a glorious adventure.

I appreciate the tone, tolerance and constructive trend of Melchior Seele's article "What is in a Name?"

It is indeed a watchword of the alert publisher to guard against the perpetuation of old or young bickerings; particularly reprehensible is the stirring up of old human frailities known to the loyal workers who are too busy living their ideals to read of retrogression in their ranks.

Nor does a worker in the cause of freedom, care to hand out such a paper to the modern youth who can be and is keenly interested in current events, philosophy and history which he can correlate with his present and apply to his ideals for the future.

Melchior Seele has offered youth an opportunity to enrich his knowledge of human endeavor. A cause to work for and defend.

Bert Hillside edits a column which informs with classic brevity. May it continue.

Yours in freedom,

Juliet WOODVILLE

Whither Have We Drifted?

Recipients of Old Age pension are now being supplied (in Calif.) with cards entitling them to part of the "surplus" commodity by the new "State Commodity Distribution Department." On the face of it this looks like being benevolent treatment by the empowered. And it also seems in harmony with the baloney of "I am my brother's keeper," a slogan upon which is based the New Deal so invitingly portrayed in fireside chats.

The Old Game continues if under new codes and added modes of regulations. And when five billions are handed out at each round, the beneficiaries and the unthinking multitude will see to it that the skin game is kept up and the opponents to it are eliminated as is frankly stated.

That our president is highly intelligent and of admirable and lovably qualities in his personal capacity, is doubted only by the blindly prejudiced. And that such a fine and great personality, in his official capacity, also has become irrational and despotic, just goes to show that power delegated to rulers transmutes men of human and lovable characteristics into unfeeling brutes. It matters little that physical bludgeoning is now done in a more genteel manner: codes and decrees enforced are quite as ruthless and unsocial.

A Mussolini is frankly a dictator and Hitlerism enforces its power openly in purging Germany of the jews, the menace to aryans who also claim to be the chosen people. And in this land of the alleged brave and free, Democracy looks more like Demonocrcacy to me. Both ocracies are from the same root . . . the dominating majority. The latter it would seem, has been grafted on to the parent stem.

It avails not to condemn and exclude contemporary affairs as they are. In popular institutions may also be found some redeeming features, I freely grant. Every now and then appear indications that mankind's intelligence and comprehension undergo constant changes which are obvious in other connections. And it's comforting and encouraging feeling that the self-same visions and ideals one cherishes, are in every one of our fellows, even if inoperative or latent.

It is said that in Nature there are no straight lines. So it would appear logical that even human evolution is a matter of ups and downs. Like the ebb and flow of an ocean, neither can be without the other. And perhaps it is well that no one can tell to what goal the devious path of mankind leads.

But it would seem to be well to know where we now are and to adjust ourselves to circumstance and environs as they are. We may look back over the way we came and from that derive hints as to the future which unerringly always follows even if its nature is not fully comprehended or foreseen. The old negro ditty "I don't know where I'm going but I'm on my way" presents a clear and rational state of mind for man. And there's no use in disputing or quarreling with the sapient who know all about the Whence and Whither.

A. G. WAGNER

What The World Needs

Dear Graham,

Since writing to you on the thirteenth I have received your May issue. It is very good. Havel's sketch of Bakunin is very good. I include a dollar. It is very little, but I have had only very little work.

As to your article, although I do not agree with everything you say, I feel that in the concluding paragraphs you are on the right track. If you can steer the anarchist movement that way, namely toward co-operative farm communities you will have made the most essential contribution toward lifting mankind out of its present miserable state that any man can make.

I am working on an article about organized farm communities for "Free America," and I hope to have it ready soon. If you should care to print an article by me on that subject I shall be glad to furnish it.

The article which I am now writing has to be very brief. But I should like a longer article showing the philosophical foundations of the co-operative commonwealth. I believe that a great deal of preliminary work is necessary before we could ever think of founding a community. The community as I see it is nothing but a means to an end: the continued education of man. It is not an end in itself: to produce as much as possible. All services are connected with the educational system. Machine shops for instance are the practical work upon which the course of mechanics would be based. The store, or the commisary would be equally connected with the educational system: geography and economics would be taught in connection with it, etc. And the children would be paid in community coin redeemable at the commisary for the work they were doing. Yes, they would be disciplined, for they would have to do satisfactory work, otherwise they would not get paid. But it would be left to them what kind of work they would do, as long as they were doing their share of the community work. Farming would be partly individual, and partly a community enterprise. Garden and fruit would be individual, grain ,crops, hay, etc. large scale. Because individual initiative must be safeguarded under all circumstances; and reward for individual effort must remain. The communistic idea of all working into the same pot I consider fatal.

Thus each member of the community would gradually graduate into higher and higher positions according to his or her ability, but he would always do some of the lowly tasks, if physical work can be considered as such, which I do not think.

Why should a man always do the same work? Why should a teacher teach all his life or all day long? Why should he not do other work also, and teach much less.

Under that kind of a scheme we should have very much more time for our own advanced education than we have now, and many more incentives.

I believe, and I can prove it, that the competitive system far from stimulating, stifles man's energies. Real interest, true enthusiasm are engendered and maintained only when the individual sees himself growing intellectually and morally.

We need to train the individual in self-discipline and self-control. This, unfortunately, and if I am not mistaken under the influence of Dewey's ideas, we have entirely discarded. Freedom is not something which we can bestow upon others, but which must be earned and deserved through individual effort. Consequently the labour movement, which makes no effort of educating its own members, which teaches them no responsibility, has no ideal, no aim worth while, but only higher wages and shorter hours regardless, as led to-day is injurious to the character and the true independence of the individual labouring man.

What the world needs is not hate of oppression, for that is a negative reaction against intolerable conditions, but a new and positive ideal toward which to strive. This ideal not a vapid dream, but a positive goal, which beckons us as a reward for our own efforts.

I have become more and more convinced that we must rid ourselves of hatred, difficult as it is under present conditions, and that we must fill our hearts and minds with positive ideas. That we must, so to speak radiate happiness, confidence, and self-assurance, and that we must be animated by kindliness toward and consideration for others.

Sincerely yours,

F. WERTGEN

From an Octogenarian

Dear Friend:

Your July number of MAN! is unusually good I think. 'Book Reviews' by my old friend Hennacy is very interesting, so are the poems and much of the text.

I note that you are in the red financially, so out of my savings in the P. O. at Fairhope, I've drawn a dollar for you.

Within the last two years I've become a strict vegetarian and cost of living, with help of garden is less than 10c per day. Clothing for most of year consists of blue shirt and overalls only. Hatless for 15 years and barefooted for more than eight years. My long beard cuts out the need of neckties.

Many visitors come to my home—674 to date this year. Numbers take pictures of me and numbers like to linger and talk with 'The Sage of Tolstoy Park'. These take up much of my time, but I sell some pictures, and occasionally am given a contribution. In the last two years, due to age, I have failed physically, but my health is almost perfect. No more can I wheel and pack heavy loads. Junked my old wheel-barrow two years ago and substituted a small cart for it. With it I can pull a 150 lb. load on level ground. During the hot weather I spent many hours in a cot under my pavilion. It is 7 feet above the ground and breeze seldom fails. There I lie in comfort and read much of the time, but I cannot write there, so am far behind with my correspondence.

Due to being so widely known, I am frequently getting NEW friends. Much literature comes to me for free distribution.

My two sons and their wives are doing finely in Portland, Oregon, and one grandchild blesses me. Gloria Anne Stuart, fifteen last May and born since I came to Alabama. For my 80th birthday she wrote me a nice letter. I'm proud of them all. Am trying to practice the Golden Rule of Confucius and to show friends a simpler, better way in which to live.

Scott's magazine "Money" comes to me and Bruce Calvert's "Open Road." I like them very much. Dr. Fack's "Free Economy" has been taken for several years. His Silvio Gessel plan is about the best of the many which are offered I think. FREE land with non-interest bearing money would SAVE the WORLD I think.

Its present condition is FRIGHTFUL.

'Ye olde Tolstoyan Freeman',

H. J. STUART

Political Economy

In "William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement," J. Bruce Glasier describes how Morris made his first appearance as a speaker in Glasgow, at which the author was present. A quibbling "comrade" asked Morris whether he "accepted Marx's theory of value." And tousled Morris, genial, exuberant, but always truthful, exploded:

"To speak quite frankly, I do not know what Marx's theory of value is and I'm damned if I want to know. I have tried to understand Marx's theory, but political economy is not in my line and much of it appears to be dreary rubbish. But I am, I hope, a Socialist none the less.

"It is enough political economy for me to know that the idle class is rich, and the working class is poor, and that the rich are rich because they rob the poor. That I know because I see it with my own eyes. I need read no books to convince me of it. And it does not matter a rap, it seems to me, whether the robbery is accomplished by what is termed surplus value or by means of serfage or open brigandage."

Betty Morrison

ART AND LITERATURE

Against our Guardians of the Muses

History is especially well-stocked with literary monstrosities, almighty individualists who prefer to exhaust their talents in lengthy elaborations upon their personal frustrations, quite without analyzing the full basis for them, rather than grapple with sordid economic realities. But no time has better contributed to intellectual decay than the present with such elegant representatives as Eliot, Wilder, Lawrence, Huxley and company, deserting the barbaric present for a nostalgic and idyllic past that is supposed to have offered his supreme aggrandizement or elevating the artist to a strange realm of mysticism compounded of a classical heritage and that sterility of purpose and enthusiasm which so markedly distinguishes the special sanctity of the arts.

Admitting that the position of the artist is obscure and difficult in this mechanized age which reduces all men alike to a pretty inconsequential item on the immense stage of science; yet that the artist or writer should turn his backside to the world and without sympathy or affection for his fellowmen and their misguided steps toward emancipation, exert themselves with dead mythologies, is the shortcoming of belles lettres. On the otherhand, we can turn to other creators with admiration for their intellectual fortitude and vitality, even if they did entertain a few illusions about Utopias tomorrow and man's eventual ascendancy from which their works suffers in its anxiety to convince, thus lacking the immaculate composure of unadulterated art. It is they, at least, who dare to interpret the life about them with some regard for what it is and can be, so as to effect a movement toward what they believe to be a better world and a better human being.

It is high time the critics accepted the thesis that culture must meet and relate the social upheavals of today if it is to survive, must in the main have utilitarian value just as fully as esthetic value. John, Steinbeck, Andre Malraeux, Erskine Caldwell, John Dos Passos, and Kenneth Fearing are men whom we shall know and remember, whose works we can read again and again with inspiration and an understanding that is close to our hearts, who have given meaning to an age that has been accused of being meaningless. Unlike the introverted exponents of the "genteel tradition" with whom we associate drawingrooms and ivory towers, these men met and absorbed the life immediately a part of them with objectiveness, and have shaped a weapon that will defend the worthwhile values and ideals of humanity against the economic and political corruption that is bound to assail them. Unless the artist adjusts himself to the exigencies of the contemporary world, he will be shoved aside in the intensified struggle of the masses for economic liberation and an equitable share in their destinies. A culture deeply rooted in the people, is true in giving voice to their aspirations and humillations, will resist the onslaughts of totalitarianism. That Shakespeare, Moliere, Pushkin, Voltaire, and Dostoyevsky did this is evidenced by the manner in which the works of the above have withstood social revolution.

It appears that the foremost function of the writer (of all artists) should be to simplify and direct the thoughts and experiences of his particular age, and then, to show its relation to the cultures of other civilizations. To maintain that the leisure class alone is capable of appreciating the finer things of life, is to substantiate the defects of an economy which has established the leisure class alone as the body which had the means and educational inducement to do so and is a misapprehension as grave as the pseudo-psychological mechanisms of the escapists. The avowed intention of art should be the inspiration of mankind to a higher, nobler existence, and that is not facilitated by the exclusion of art from the social scene. Let the disinherited esthetes and their camouflages take a sligthly keener notice

William PETERSON

Shoestring Mary

Shoestring Mary was a loathsome creature
of the streets, so the ladies' Aid society,
interested in civilizing the Heathen
Chinese, said . . . . So did the deacon in the
First Methodist church, who owned the mill
that stood on top of the hill overlooking
the small southern city.
Shoestring Mary once worked there . . . she kept her
job as long as she was good looking . . . The
boss who owned the mill and many others,
smoked
a black cigar like a puma gnawing a piece of raw
meat . . . Shoestring lost her good looks, then
went to the street . . .
all the winter the cold rain fell on her tomb . . . .
the mill owner found another girl and his wife .
fat and forty became more interested in saving
the Chinese.
Her cough grew worse and one cold, rainy night
she died.
Spring came over the southern hills . . . . one day a
white rose bloomed Shoestring Mary's grave.

Willam Allen WARD

◆ BOOK REVIEW ◆

POWER, a New Social Analysis, by Bertrand Russell W. W. Norton Co., N. Y., 1938.

Bertrand Russell upholds his reputation as a keen analyst in this study of power. As in his previous books he has emphasized freedom, pacifism and democracy without following the implications of his analysis to the logical conclusion of real freedom, pacifism and democracy. However, this book is so much more in advance of the superficial utterances on democracy which we generally hear that it is worthwhile reading.

In an introduction to a chapter he quotes the story of Confucius who has been questioning a woman found crying in a lonely part of the country. It appeared that her grief was caused by the fact that tigers had devoured her father-in-law, her husband, and now finally her son. When asked by the sage why she chose to remain in such a dangerous spot she replied, "there is no oppresive government here." Confucius then told his followers: **"Remember this, my children. oppressive government is more terrible than tigers."**

Today when the intrigues of governments have brought us into a war more terrible than ever dreamed of by man Russell speaks of the "chief activity of the State is preparation for large scale homicide," and concludes that for himself at least there can be no gain in war which causes the death by horrible means of women and children, under the guise of making the world safe for democracy.

Emphasis upon the rebellion of the early Christians, before the Church became the comercialized partner of the State, when their motto was "we ought to obey God rather than man," and the description of the Reformation as the "theological anarchism (which) weakened the Church" coupled with approval of those sects which have consistently been rebels—whose basis was not a change of power from one group to another but as those "men who have the courage to refuse submission without having the imperiousness that causes the wish to command," points to a taming of power through an idealism divorced from envy and selfishness. The well known fact that violence and injustice breed violence and injustice is also emphasized by the author. The basis whereby decisions can be arrived at without acrimony is shown by the history of the Quakers whose method is not that of the majority vote—in fact no vote is taken at all, but the unanimous decision, the "sense of the meeting" decides the question. Here is no coercion of even a minority of one person. The basic principle of the Quakers, that of peace and brotherhood gained in centuries of training, thus bears witness to the truth of their ideal and points to that democracy which is real.

Coupled with this question of democracy and of the political method of counting noses which passes for democracy today the author asserts that the naked use of power is not noticed by many groups which take part in the farce of voting, but that to the convinced anarchist the power is shown in its naked aspect. He shows further that the idea of democracy makes the citizen easier to deceive "since he regards the government as his government" when in fact he has about as much share in the government when he votes for one of the two picked nonentities as does the stockholder with one millionth voting power in an industrial concern. This idea of power being "good if it is given to the "good" nonentity elected by the count of noses is shown by Russell to be a falsity: "to suppose that irresponsible power, just because it is called Socialist or Communist, will be freed miracously from the bad qualities of all arbitrary power in the past is mere childish nursery psychology; the wicked prince is ousted by the good prince, and all is well."

Russell quotes a paragraph from his prediction of the outcome of the tyranny in Russia written in 1920 in which he states that those in power will not give up this power but will become more ruthless in its use.

While the author recognizes the value of the man who refuses to obey unjust laws he feels that this refusal should come from a social rather than a personal urge.

With Russell's recognition of the value of decentralization in order to tame power and make democracy more efficient goes also that portion of the book which in the opinion of this reviewer seems to be the weakest. the only salvation, if any is to come at all, is given in the power of a world state to enforce justice. All of the criticism directed against power, injustice and war in States as they exist today would be doubly true of a super-state. If the author despairs of taming this smaller power why should he seek promise in a greater use of power?

The book closes with the hope which lies at the basis of all real progress that the education of children in a progressive manner in which all points of view are presented and in which they are urged to think for themselves will make democracy work out so as to tame power. The radical who brings up his children in a dictatorial manner instead of allowing the child to think and learn with kindly guidance himself only raises a slave or a tyrant instead of one ready for a cooperative society. It is therefore natural that those who follow the party line of collective security do not appreciate this book which emphasizes freedom in education rather than totalitarian dogma as given in Germany, Italy and Russia.

Ammon A. HENNACY

COAL

"Chicago, Illinois, is the second richest and second largest city of the richest democratic country on earth. The State of Illinois is one of the richest State of the Union. Beneath its fertile fields are 200 billion tons of unmined coal—Chicago Chamber of Commerce."

Frank Kracik stared hard at the red-white-and-blue billboard, moving his thin lips as he spelled out the words to himself. Coal! That was the thing! You could put it in the stove back in the three-room flat, and it kept the stove warm, and the room and your body too. And if your wife was sick in bed all day and coughed a lot, you just had to have coal!

Two hundred billion tons, that's what it said . . . he took another look at the sign, tried with trembling fingers to pull the frayed cuffs of his gray coat down over his wrists. It was cold, Jesus it was cold. Then he stumbled on past the sign down to the freight sidings, down to where he knew there was a whole car full of coal standing there two days. They'd move it, maybe today, but first Frank would fill an orange-box with it and drag it away, and get it home and into the iron stove that was cold and useless now. He could see his wife smiling as the heat reached out through the room, and she would stop coughing, and maybe sleep. Just one orange-box of that black coal, just one box . . .

"Yes, Your Honor, I caught him robbing the coal from a car on the siding. Nearly a box of it he had when I got him. Just piling it into the box he was." The Judge glared down at Frank Kracik: Why was he stealing coal from the Illinois Central? Couldn't he find anything better to do with his time? Maybe look for a job? Frank told the Judge why: the cold stove and no money, not a cent, and his wife coughing and shivering in the ice-cold room.

"Don't tell me you weren't going to sell that coal!" His Honor glared down at Frank from the judicial heights, wrapping himself more closely in his robes: "$50 fine, and if you're as penniless as you say, we'll let you work it off in the House of Correction. And since the coal you tried to steal is consigned to the Workhouse too, why we'll just let you work off the fine shoveling coal." The Judge leaned back, well-satisfied with himself. Truly, it was a decision worthy of Solomon.

Frank shoveled coal all afternoon. A couple of times he came near to falling over, his back hurt so and he was hungry and nearly frozen. With every shovelful he gritted his teeth, thought of his wife laying on the cheap bed in the damply-cold room, coughing and coughing and pressing her hands to her breasts and crying with the pain. He could hear her moaning, saw her weakly holding out her thin arms and pleading with him: come home Frank, come home and light the fire, Frank . . . cold, cold, it's so cold . . .

About six o'clock they came and told him. An officer had been sent to find Mrs. Kracik and tell her where her husband would be spending the next few days. Nobody answered the door, so the officer got the janitor to open it with the spare key. He found Mrs. Kracik, all right. She was on the bed with her eyes staring at the ceiling, and she was quiet, very quiet. A doctor confirmed the officer's suspicions—the woman was dead.

The Judge looked up from page seven of his evening paper. He had just read a little item down in the corner of the page about a woman who was frozen to death in a cheap flat on the other side of the city. Her name was Mrs. Frank Kracik. He frowned: "Curious, he was telling the truth." The Judge felt a bit ashamed about it. Then his pudgy face brightened as he made another decision: "I'll recommend that he be pardoned."(*).

Clifton BENNETT

(*) This isn't fiction. Each of the essential facts in this story will be found in a news item in the Chicago Press.

Life is hard on those who have the temerity to enter upon an unknown path. The vanguard always has a bad time of it.

—ANTON CHEKHOV

AS TO OBEYING THE LAWS OF THE LAND

The real enemies within our midst are not the "reds", as the press agents of the present system would have us believe, but the supposedly "law abiding" citizenry which is the sole beneficiary of this very system. Proof of this assertion is offered in the documentary evidence of a special story written by Kenneth Crawford for the "New York Post" of Aug. 14, 1939, the greater part of which we reprint on this page.

Of course, it is nothing new for the anarchist to learn that the capitalist class laughs at the very laws it concocts. Only the oppressed are expected to be forced to obey the laws. Some of the revelations made in the story we reprint may serve to open wide the eyes of the exploited to the realization that they, too, have ample reason for emulating the rich of the land in their example of disobedience to the laws.

Washington, Aug. 14.—The LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee today condemned the National Association of Manufacturers for its continuing efforts to block enforcement of the national labor relations act.

In a report filed with the Secretary of the Senate dealing exclusively with the activities of the N. A. M., the LaFollette group said . . . several of the country's most influential industrialists got together in 1933 and decided to make the N. A. M. the spearhead of a propaganda and lobying campaign against the liberal policies of the Roosevelt Administration.

Calling themselves the "Brass Hats," members of this group installed Robert L. Lund of St. Louis, president of the Lambert Pharmacal Company, as president of the N. A. M., and Walter S. Weisenburger, formerly an executive of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, as executive vice-president.

Under these two men the organization started a campaign of opposition to Roosevelt policies which has continued with growing intensity ever since. By 1937, the year of the Little Steel strike, the organization's budget amounted to $1,440,000. As much as $790,000 a year has been spent for preparation and dissemination of propaganda.

According to the Civil Liberties Committee estimates, the N. A. M. also has managed to get free radio time worth about $1,000,000 a year, free billboard space which would have cost $1,250,000 during one period of three months and another $1,000,000 worth of free newspaper space.

Principal financial backers of the N. A. M.'s anti-New Deal campaign have been E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., which contributed $118,600 during the last five years; General Motors Corporation, which put up $66,520; the National Steel Corporation, $42,500; United States Steel Corporation, $41,450; Monsanto Chemical Company, $36,775; Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, $35,912; Chrysler Corporation, $35,400, and Bethlehem Steel Corporation, $29,250.

Fifty per cent of the association's income is derived from 262 national industrial concerns.

The report says:

"The National Association of Manufacturers' campaign of propaganda stems from the almost limitless resources of corporate treasuries. Not individuals but corporations constitute the membership of the association and supply its funds. It is this fact that makes the political aspects of the association's campaign of propaganda a matter of serious concern.

"In effect, the National Association of Manufacturers is a vehicle for spending corporate funds to influence the opinion of the public interests in selection of candidates for office.

Describing the propaganda methods of the N. A. M., the report continued:

"The association's propaganda campaign projected in 1933 and started in 1934 and went into effect in full swing in the summer of 1936, just prior to the national election. Through newspapers, radio, motion pictures, slide films, stockholders' letters, payroll stuffers, billboard advertisements, civic progress meetings and local advertising, the National Association of Manufacturers blanketed the country with a propaganda barrage which surpassed its 'industrial conservation movement' of 1916-20 in intensity, scope, and variety of technique.

"With the co-operation of large member corporations and local employers' associations affiliated with the National Industrial Council, the association's 'educational' program reached every important industrial community in the United States.

"Its message was directed against 'labor agitators,' against governmental measures to alleviate industrial distress, against labor unions, and for the advantages of the status quo in industrial relations, of which company-dominated unions were still a part. Anti-union employers and local employers' association executives used the propaganda material of the National Association of Manufacturers to combat the organizational drive of unions in local industrial areas. This was particularly the case in the steel-producing centers of Ohio, where a labor organizational drive was under way.

"The National Association of Manufacturers has blanketed the country with a propaganda which in technique has relied upon indirection of meaning, and in presentation upon secrecy and deception. Radio speeches, public meetings, news, cartoons, editorials, advertising, motion pictures and many other artifices of propaganda have not in most instances disclosed to the public their origin with the association. The Mandeville Press Service, the Six Star Service, Uncle Abner cartoons, George Sokolsky's services, the "American Family Robinson radio broadcasts," Harmony ads' by MacDonald-Cook Company, civic progress meetings' and many other devices of molding public opinion have been used without disclosure of the origin in financial support by the National Association of Manufacturers, and even at times under the sponsorship of independent organizations.

"The committee condemns the deliberate action taken by the National Association of Manufacturers to promote organized disregard for the National Labor Relations Act. Such action by a powerful and responsible organization encourages disrespect for the law and undermines the authority of government."

» RELIGION «

Through a violent policy religion can be suppressed, but it will inevitably reappear; 1793 and the Concordat proved it. Science has disproved every religious argument. For the past forty years we have seen it convicted of impotence and error; it has fallen with accelerating speed in spite of governmental support, clergy's efforts, equivocal complacency of philosophy, and the favor of public opinion. Here I cannot describe the sad and hurtful impression first made upon my heart by witnessing this agony of religion. Before I acquired some knowledge, I saw only irreligious masses with nothing eternal or absolute to sustain their doctrines. A society for which order was the convention, vice and virtue arbitrary ideas, and the past of mankind a long lie. This situation without example, this future without providence scared me. But soon I became acquainted with the most common facts and secret causes of religious revolutions. They were the elements of a marvellous order which became harder to perceive the closest they appeared. Then I said to myself that the time was ripe to help nature's work and bring about the last crisis of society.

May the Christians pardon me if these researches are not the illusion of a tenebrous brain. Religion today is nonsense; if I am wrong, my soul's safety will not pay too dearly for this triumph of theology.

Several factors have delayed the definite obliteration of religion. The masses, especially the peasants are not ready, the science of man and society does not yet exist, and metaphysics is still to be born. Man must have a strong reason to be satisfied in waiting for the light of a negative philosophy. The common man will only discard one belief to adopt another; one idea must follow another.

This explains the mania or rather hypocrisy in religious teachings to-day. While philosophers announce a religious reform, radicals and conservatives speak of spiritual interests, and teachers ask their pupils to receive the sacraments and give religious prizes. The vested authority strongly favors the clergy's section, and through its general attorneys and other officials preaches against ungodliness and Bad Doctrines.

Stunned by the reproaches of corruption and disorder that has arisen everywhere religious leaders can't imagine anything better for the masses than a come-back to religion. Still nobody is deceived, all laugh at their vain efforts, and the blow that will crush scepticism will also finish this comedy.

"As old as I am, can I go back where I came from and be born again?" Asked the Pharisian Nicodemus of Chirst.

And even so is it impossible for you and I to reenter the Church's bosom. The religious period for you is ended. Don't let the future scare you. They are blind and despaired who say to themselves "Can I live without religion?" No, it was not in vain that those thinkers protested; thinkers who have been inscribed by the priesthood as enemies when they could not be counted among their victims. It was not in vain that ten generations have lessened the fear of the Church and respect for the throne.

Once freed from the embryo shall we still drink of its source after having seen the sun and the water of the Amnios?

Let us erect a monument in commemoration of the movement just accomplished; the French revolution has its column, let religion have a pyramid.

Formerly, after having blessed our birth they prayed upon our coffin, to-day we must render religion a last duty. Shall we fear, through filial pity, to bury our mother? Our emancipation will only date from this great funeral. Until now man has walked in the fear of Gods and Satans; he has been exhorted by priests, by fairy tales, and cheered by symbols.

To-day man must know that the only interpreter between him and God is nature. He must learn to read his destiny in the great book of the Universe; his fellow men, and his sole exercise must be the development of his inner powers. Finally he must realize that any problem presented to him must sooner or later be solved—it will not always remain a mystery.

P. J. PROUDHON in "De la Création de l'Ordre."
(Translated by J. S.)

That is the history of all religions; that is the effect of all divine inspirations and legislations. In history the name of God is the terrible club with which all divinely inspired men, the great "virtuous geniuses," have beaten down liberty, dignity, reason, and prosperity of man.

—Mikhail BAKUNIN

The Plight of the Citizenship

Many Congressmen here (in Washington) are amused but impressed by signed petitions (mimeographed) from the Middle West which read as follows:

"PEACE CHEST, NOT WAR CHEST

"Twenty years ago we, that is, our country, made a great mistake. The United States, at that time, lent Britain and France billions of dollars, and they in turn paid our manufacturers that money to make guns and shells and other things that are being made to kill men. Now we grant that this was a fine stroke of business and yielded a handsome profit, but most of us are still paying for it, and some of us lost our lives. It was good business—for a few. But we who paid have a better proposal. We believe that it would be much easier on us, and would satisfy the manufacturers and financiers as well, if every citizen of the United States contributed 75c in cash to a fund which would be paid over to the manufacturers and financiers for not dragging us into war.

"This fund might not be as much as they would make out of a war but after all, it would be cash on the line. It would represent our united effort as a nation, paying for our lives. Its moral effect cannot be exaggerated. Its democratic method cannot be disputed. Every citizen pays the same and the poor pays the most. We suggest that, after the money is collected, the manufacturers and bankers visit the tomb of the Unknown Soldier and return immediately to a joint directors meeting, at which they should fight it out across the table how much each shall get.

"We, the undersigned, each signify our willingness to pay 75c for the purpose outlined above.

—Frank HOWARD, in "Workers Age".

"When this petition is filed, mail it to your favorite congressman. (Just his name and Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.) It might help him."

Financial Statement

From Groups: Duval Youth Group (share of initiative) $95.20; San Francisco (share of Picnic) $40.00; Gruppo I Refrattari of Detroit (share of picnic) $16.50; Gruppo Libertario of Needham $10.00; Pittsburgh (share of affair) $10.00; Boston (share of picnic) $10.00; Cleveland (on list) $8.00; Chicago (share of picnic) $7.00; I Liberi Group of Ill., $5.00; Newspaper sales: Seattle $2.50; San Francisco $1.00, Los Angeles 72c.

From Individuals: D. Lapina $5.00; Claude Lyttle $2.50; Monroe Bartlett, J. Fasso, Jules Scarcerieux $2.00; Juliet Woodville $1.50; Jim Myers, J. L. Boquet, P. Polina, A. Jadiker, I. Bettola, H. Williams, C. Parodi, Stephen L. Solosy, H. H. Cummins, L. Battaglio $1.00; R. F. Wilson 80c.

Total INCOME	$230.22
Expenditures	104.16
Deficit	42.67
Balance on hand	$83.39

"Freedom of Thought Arraigned"

We still have several thousand pamphlets "Freedom of Thought Arraigned" on hand. These are not being send out as fast as we would wish to—due to a lack of funds. The pamphlet is being sent free and without any obligation. We therefore invite all those who wish to see the pamphlet being circulated wide and afar to help us materially so that this sole moral weapon at our command in the fight to bring the long and unheard of persecution of Marcus Graham to an end—be made possible.

Send all funds to the:

MARCUS GRAHAM FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE.—P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, California.